THE WORKING WOMAN
1840 - 1945

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART
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THE WORKING WOMAN, 1840-1945 was organized by the following Helena Rubinstein Fellows in the Whitney Museum's Independent Study Program: Amy Minna Fine, Swarthmore College; Nell Lisa Gutman, SUNY, College of Purchase; Norma Rosso Tridas, Universidad del Sagrado Corazon, Puerto Rico.

The Downtown Branch of the Whitney Museum of American Art is operated under the direction of David Hupert, Head of the Museum's Education Department, and Lisa Phillips, Branch Manager. The Downtown Branch, located at 55 Water Street, is supported by the business community of lower Manhattan and the National Endowment for the Arts. It is open Monday through Friday from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Admission is always free.

What is being set forth in the exhibition "The Working Woman" is not the history of working women, but a history of images of working women, from 1840 to 1945. In conceiving the exhibition, a broad definition of women's work was chosen, so as to include unremunerated activities such as housework, child-rearing, cooking, and sewing. When viewing a collection of images devoted to the working woman, the temptation may be to regard these pictures as comprehensive documents of a historical process. It must be kept in mind that the works included in the exhibition are nothing more nor less than responses by various artists to a particular phenomenon in their worlds. The works of art may corroborate what has come to be accepted as historical fact, but they may just as easily contradict a consensual truth. A picture tends in the long run to tell more of its creator than its subject since an artist is free to select not only the images which most appeal to him, but also the style and medium of representation with which he is most comfortable. The viewer therefore is left with an image which can never be an objective historical datum: art cannot imitate life. This essay to the catalogue, therefore, should supply the historical information that the pictures alone cannot provide. Since the exhibition is intended as a retrospective, historical view of women's work rather than an exposition of the events of recent decades, commentary or contemporary contributions of working women has been excluded.

During the infancy of America, women participated actively in the economic life of the country. Not only were they busy at home preparing the products of harvest for the consumption of the family, they also were sometimes engaged in keeping shop or plying a trade. In fact, there were fewer businesswomen in 1840 than there had been in the colonial era.[1] Women were found in businesses catering to both sexes, whereas later the women who owned stores most likely purveyed feminine goods. Fewer women were to be found in the professions and business as the colonial era waned because a higher level of academic training or apprenticeship was required to open up shop, and women were excluded from standardized training programs. The attitude toward women in the professions had so changed by the early dates of this exhibition that journalist Jane Swisshelm was moved to remark:

> It is well known that thousands, nay, millions of women in this country are condemned to the most menial drudgery, such as men would scorn to engage in, and that for one fourth the wages . . . They plough, harrow, reap, dig . . . do anything that is hard work, physical labor, and who says anything against it? But let one presume to use her mental powers--let her aspire to turn editor, public speaker, doctor, lawyer . . . O! bring cologne, get a cambric kerchief and feather fan, unloose his corsets and take off his cravat! What a fainting fit Mr. Propriety has taken![2]

At the close of the colonial period, the average American family lived on a farm and was a virtually self-sufficient economic unit. The family worked as a team to produce the necessities of life (Anonymous, The Yankee Pedlar, ca. 1840, #122). Not until the capitalist wage-labor system was introduced were the concepts of work and home separable. Until that time housework was more a matter of production--staples such as clothes, food, and soap were made at home--than maintenance. Only when production was removed to the factories did the concept of housework with which we are familiar today begin to emerge.

When the first factories opened on the East coast, women and children were considered the perfect candidates for the new jobs that were created. Men could not be diverted from the more important farm work. In the late 18th century, the Puritan ethos still shaped the nation's outlook on life. The mill seemed to be a god-sent safe-guard against feminine and puerile idleness. Alexander Hamilton remarked, and George Washington agreed that "women and children are rendered more useful . . . by manufacturing establishments, than they would otherwise be."[3]

One of the last holdouts of respectable factory work was the "utopian" mill community of Lowell, Massachusetts. Lowell was founded by Massachusetts gentlemen who felt they could reconcile the interests of country girls with their profit motive. The Lowell mills employed women only, mostly decent unmarried girls from the surrounding countryside. They lived in boarding houses run by matrons, went to church and socials in the community,

and even published their own journal, the Lowell Offering. The paternalistic community proved to fall short of the ideal because by 1845 the women had organized into a short-lived union, the Female Labor Reform Association, which demanded better pay and housing, and shorter hours. The union was the prelude to Lowell's swan song because the influx of Irish immigrants in the 1840's provided factories like Lowell's with a desperately needy labor force anxious to work, even for low wages under bad conditions (Winslow Homer, New England Factory Life, "Bell-Time", 1968, #45).

By the mid-nineteenth century, the national character had undergone a metamorphosis. The Puritan ethics of the colonists had given way to the more modern Victorian ideology. A middle class had emerged, partly as a result of the greater luxury afforded by factory- as opposed to home-produced goods. The wave of immigrants who flooded the factories which manufactured these goods became the lower class which moved the 'native' Americans up into the middle class. The combined middle class and Victorian values redefined the woman's role in society. Victorianism insisted on a rigid separation of the sexes; middle class morality regarded the idle woman as a symbol of material success. Women were expected to embody all those traits which keep society moral and good: she was to be pious, pure, and domestic (Lilly Martin Spencer, Kiss Me and You'll Kiss the 'Lasses, 1856, #85). Ostensibly, men alone were tainted with base impulses; women were to be the glistening white pillars of civilization. The prevailing prescription for feminine perfection has been called the "Cult of True Womanhood." The cult insisted on woman's natural goodness, her need to care for men and children, her innate ability to nurse the sick, her modesty, her native abhorrance of things physical, and her need to excell in the domestic arts. The idea of true womanhood militated against the notion of women working outside the home. The greatest forum for the cult were the women's magazines which became a fixture of the American culture by the 1840's. The most popular of these was Godey's Lady's Book, which had a circulation of 150,000 in its prime. The magazines published saccharine poetry and fiction, and moralistic essays. The latter is typified by Harriet Beecher Stowe's "The Lady Who Does Her Own Work," a tract which extolls the virtues of the competent housewife. Stowe revelled in the fact that "America is the only country where there is a class of women who may be described as ladies who do

their own work (*i. e.*, housework)."[4] She concluded her article by announcing

> Now what I have to say is, that, if every young woman learned to do housework and cultivated her practical faculties early in life, she would, in the first place, be much more likely to keep her servants, and, in the second place, if she lost them temporarily, would avoid all that wear and tear of the nervous system which comes from constant ill-success in those departments on which family health and temper mainly depend.[5]

Women's journals did provide the opportunity for many female writers to earn a livelihood; most of the articles were penned by women, and some of the publications were even edited by women. Writing was an acceptable lady's occupation because it could be practiced within the home.

The lady was even more highly revered in the South. Though it is often assumed that plantation mistresses passed their days in luxurious indolence, their diaries tell of the exhaustion they felt from carrying out their duties. They had to nurse slaves in sickness, and oversee their housing, religious instruction, and clothing. The mistress trained slaves for the nursery and the kitchen. Even entertaining was a major undertaking. Because neighbors and friends were scattered over the countryside, if she were to hostess a party, she would have to put up guests for several nights. Every detail had to be looked after with the utmost care. If she had any spare moments, she, like her Northern counterpart, would busy herself with intricate needlework.

The Negro slave woman was highly prized by her master, especially if she were a "good breeder." She was essentially at the mercy of her owners; she was generally overworked, even while pregnant. Improvement of her lot entailed moving from field hand to "house nigger." Those Negroes who were free were usually servants or nurses, as they were in the North.[6]

The Civil War wrought a few, albeit temporary,

changes in woman's position in society. War always disrupts the prevailing social order. Therefore, changes are bound to occur with respect to woman's role in the working world. During the Civil War, necessity drew women out of the home to participate in the economic life of the country. Women organized groups to discuss what they could do for the war or to make clothes and bandages for soldiers. There was plenty of enthusiasm on both sides, but initially little efficiency. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell on the Union side organized the Woman's Central Association for Relief, which trained women as army nurses. In 1861 Lincoln formed the United States Sanitary Commission which united the Woman's Central Association with many grass-roots groups (Thomas Nast, U. S. Women's Sanitary Commission, ca. 1861, #64). Care for soldiers then could be administered through a central bureaucracy. Money was raised for the commission by Sanitary Fairs run by women throughout the North. A total of $50,000,000 was raised during the course of the Civil War. Under Dorothea Dix, who was appointed Superintendent of Nurses, medical services were finally modernized. An unofficial nurse, Clara Barton gained experience on the field which inspired her to form the American Red Cross. The Confederacy gave women nurses official status in 1862. There were even a few women doctors who ministered to the wounded (Anonymous, Mary Edwards Walker, M. D., Union Army Doctor During the Civil War, Authorized by Congress to Wear Trousers, ca. 1864, #110). Many women followed men to battle as washer-women, cooks, and prostitutes. Some, disguised as men, even joined the army. Women were sometimes active as spies, couriers, or saboteurs (H. C. Foster, Miss Major Pauline Cushman, The Famous Union Scout and Spy of the U. S. Secret Service, Army of the Cumberland, Mom's Army, South Carolina, ca. 1862, #24). Harriet Tubman, a black woman, achieved notoriety as a Union scout and spy. Women staying away from the front ran farms and worked in arsenals and munitions factories. A few women held posts in the Federal government. Hiring women was a controversial practice, but they could substitute for men who had gone to war, and they would work for low wages. In 1869 U. S. Treasurer Francis Elias Spinner congratulated himself on his unprecedented war-time measure of hiring female clerical workers: "Some of the females (are) doing more and better work for $900 per annum than many male clerks who were paid double that amount."[7]

Because the Southern plantation economy was hurt most during the Civil War, plantations often had to revert

to the more primitive economy of the colonial period. Women converted their plantations into small workshops: everything they needed had to be produced on the plantation. The recollections of one reduced Southern lady who transformed her plantation into a workshop are reminiscent of Scarlett O'Hara's thrifty innovations at Tara:

> All in our settlement learned to card, spin and weave. . . .
>
> Our shoes, particularly those of women and children, were made of cloth . . . knot of homespun thread, either cotton or wool. . . . Sometimes we put on the soles ourselves by taking worn out shoes . . . ripping the soles off, placing them in warm water to make them more pliable and to make it easier to pick out all the old stitches, and then in the same perforations stitching our knit slippers or cloth-made shoes. . . .
>
> Sewing societies were formed in every hamlet, as well as in our cities to keep the soldiers of the Confederacy clothed as best we could. . . . To such societies all the cloth that could be spared from each household was given and made into soldiers' garments. . . .
>
> In many settlements there were spinning "bees." Wheels, cards and cotton were all hauled in a wagon to the place appointed. . . . Sometimes as many as six or eight wheels would be whirring at the same time in one house. . . . We were drawn together in a closer union, a tenderer feeling of humanity linking us all together, both rich and poor.[8]

The South could no longer rely on imports from the North or abroad because of blockades.

Partly because Reconstruction South was a grab-bag of opportunities, women took part in office work, government service, and retail sales, just as the blacks

did. Women were recruited from the North to teach the newly freed black children. Sojourner Truth, a black former abolitionist, was appointed to the Freedman's Bureau to train women for employment.

The women making the westward trek across the country had to undergo hardships that the women in the settled towns and cities of the east and west never experienced. Often leaving friends and comforts far behind them, women were expected to keep up with the men on the trail west. Their trail diaries tell of the grief they felt as they watched their children and companions die from disease and exposure during the journey. Even though in transitu, women still had to perform the same chores they would had they roofs over their heads:

> High teas were not popular but tatting, knitting, crocheting, exchanging receipts for cooking beans or dried apples or swapping food for the sake of variety kept us in practice of feminine occupations and diversions.[9]

Once families established their small homestead farms--some energetic women even homesteaded their own land without the help of male relatives--women had to work alongside men in the fields. If a homestead farm prospered and field hands were hired, the woman's duties moved to cooking, cleaning, and making clothes for her family and the hired hands:

> I, if not washing, scrubbing, churning or nursing the baby, was preparing their meals in our lean-to kitchen. to bear two children in two and a half years from my marriage day, to make thousands of pounds of butter every year for market, not including what was used in our free hotel at home; to sew and cook, and wash and iron; to bake and clean and stew and fry; to be, in short, a general pioneer drudge, with never a penny of my own was no pleasant business for an erstwhile school teacher.[10]

Because of their scarcity in the West, women commanded a great deal of respect. Not surprisingly, the first legislation granting equal rights and suffrage for women was enacted in the West (Wyoming, 1859; Utah, 1870).

The United States was fast becoming a nation of cities rather than small farms. Between 1916 and 1918 half a million blacks migrated from the South to the urban centers of the North and Midwest.[11] Women from the farms and Europe flocked to the industrial cities in hopes of beginning a life better than the one they left behind. Women were severely restricted by the types of factory work open to them. The industrial counterparts of feminine domestic activities became the woman's province in the factory. Thus, the garment, laundry, and canning industries preferred female operatives, while machine part and ship manufacturers, for example, hired men. The number of women in the garment industry had already surpassed the number of men in 1890.[12] Whatever jobs had come to be designated feminine remained lower in status and in pay than the masculine jobs. One laundry foreman explained around the turn of the century that the work in his plant was fit only for "wimmin" and "naygurs."[13]

For the most part, women were not interested in improving their job conditions since they tended to view their participation in the labor force as temporary. The overwhelming majority of women were young (15-23) and single.[14] They were often biding time, waiting for a proposal of marriage. Of the white, non-immigrant women, widows were virtually the only older women to seek work. By 1904 public assistance to widows became available so that the drastic measure of going to work could be avoided.[15] Only two groups contributed significant numbers of wives to the working force--the blacks and the recent immigrants. According to the 1890 census, 25% of all married black women worked while only 5.6% of the total married female population was employed. That the Negro and immigrant women were more impoverished than the mainstream American women is indisputable. It is a moot point whether different social mores rendered the working life a more acceptable figure to blacks and immigrants. In any case, the urgency of poverty overrode whatever inhibitions might have arisen due to considerations of propriety. Black men were more widely discriminated against than black women, so their wives had a greater likelihood of finding work.

The industrialization of America fostered the growth of some non-industrial occupations, to which many women turned to eke out a living. Many married, respectable women availed themselves of the opportunity to provide homes for the scores of single men. It was quite common for housewives to take in boarders to supplement the family income without having to leave the home. In fact, in 1905, approximately two boarders lived in every ten households.[16]

Prostitution, an offshoot of rapid urbanization, grew rank in the cities. The industrial centers attracted many single, often lonely, men trying to seek their fortunes far away from home. Immigrants and other women reduced to dire straits often had to resort to prostitution in order to feed themselves (E. J. Bellocq, Untitled [Portrait of a Storyville Prostitute], ca. 1912, #9). In spite or because of the regnant Victorian morality, prostitution was accepted as a necessary evil. Actually, venal love was in many senses the obverse of Victorian sexual repression. Men could relieve themselves of their unchaste desires through prostitutes, and thus avoid sullying their wives' precious purity. In an 1858 survey, William Sanger determined that for every 52 men in the U. S., there was approximately one prostitute. Sanger was among the first to propose that these "fallen women" were victims of society rather than evil temptresses. By the 1870's the demand for prostitutes so exceeded the supply, that white slave rings began to thrive. The problem was palbable enough to warrant a series of public investigations.[17]

By far the most common paid occupation for women from the mid-nineteenth century through the depression was domestic service. In 1855, 25% of all immigrants in New York City were servants, and 50% of all servants were immigrants or of immigrant parentage. Twenty-five percent of all servants were black.[18] There was a continuous demand in the cities for servants to outfit the hotels, boarding houses, and mansions of the rich. Servants were among the most underpaid and overworked of all job-holders. Employers of household help frequently complained that it was difficult to find good servants because so many erstwhile domestics took jobs at the factories where the pay was better and greater privacy and freedom were ensured.

Domestics were traditionally acquired through intelligence (employment) offices (William Henry Burr,

The Intelligence Office, 1840, #12). Because of the chronic shortage of help, the lack of regulation, and the poverty and ignorance of the prospective servants, the intelligence offices engaged regularly in corrupt and fraudulent practices. Some were even fronts for prostitution syndicates.[19] More reputable agencies existed for placing middle class women in teaching or nursing positions. The process for hiring factory hands was much more informal. A woman applied directly to the foreman; if help were needed, he would grant her a job without further ado.

Prostitutes and domestics were not the only abused working women. The "home-work" and "sweat shop" systems were the most notorious forms of exploitation of female labor. Both practices were the mainstay of the garment industry. Under the home-work system, a manufacturer would deliver materials to the homes of women and pick up their finished work (Jacob A. Riis, Finishing Pants, ca. 1890, #70). Often manufacturers would finance the purchase of sewing machines in order to accelerate the work rate. Sometimes industrialists would lease rows of tenements and deduct the rent from the families' wages. Manufacturers depended on the home-workers not only for rote sewing but also for painstaking embroidery and embellishments. A New York State factory inspector described the way families worked in the sweatshops of New York:

> Take the Second Avenue Elevated, and ride up half a mile through the sweaters' district. Every open window of the big tenements, that stand like a continuous brick wall on both sides of the way, give you a glimpse of one of these shops as the train speeds by. Men and women bending over their machines or ironing clothes at the window, half-naked . . . The road is like a big gangway through an endless workroom where vast multitudes are forever laboring. Morning, noon, or night, it makes no difference; the scene is always the same.[20]

By the late nineteenth century, government

commissions and private individuals began to demonstrate sporadic concern for the working girl, although their solicitude tended to take the form of kindly condemnation. After reviewing an 1888 study of the working girl, the U. S. Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Dwight declared that her most pressing problem was her low social regard. He recommended that people learn to respect, not scorn, the honest working girl.[21] In 1902 a Boston socialite, Marie Van Vorst, investigated the working girl's situation by posing as a wage laborer. She found herself the object of pity when she appeared at the factory wearing a simple frock. As a result she decried the extravagance of the working girl. She felt the girls should save their money to improve their station. Indeed, an 1887 Bureau of Labor study found that more than 25% of the working girl's income was squandered on her clothing[22] (Anonymous, untitled, Life, July, 1920, #123).

Although Miss Van Vorst and Mr. Dwight misguidedly censured symptoms rather than causes of the working girl's unhappy lot, they at least laid the groundwork for future reforms.

The middle class woman faced a set of problems different from those of the working class woman. Since it was beneath the middle class woman to work in the factory, and it was hardly proper for her to work at all, there were few job options open to those women who felt compunction about remaining idle at home. Then there were women from good but straitened families which, though lacking the wherewithal to support an unmarried daughter, did not want to imperil their respectability by sending her to work. Teaching and nursing were practically the only professions the girls could enter without compromising their class values.

By the 1830's teaching was already becoming a feminine field. Many women were available to teach at salaries far below what a man would accept. In 1890 the ratio of female teachers to male teachers was two to one. Only 4% of these women were married.[23] Because women left the classroom upon marrying, there was a rapid turnover, and therefore always a shortage, of teachers. Since schools were perpetually in need of teachers, they could not be selective in their hiring practices. Most teachers' educational qualifications were questionable. To complete the vicious circle, because so little formal schooling was considered necessary to teach, the profession

was hardly esteemed, and so remained woman's work (Winslow Homer, The Noon Recess from Harper's Weekly, June 28, 1873, #44).

Nursing was caught in a similar bind. Since professional training was not usually available, and women willingly practiced at unreasonably low wages, nursing was deemed a feminine occupation. Popular opinion also held that women, possessed of innate nurturing impulses, were ideally suited for nursing. The fact that the Daughters of the American Revolution was asked to assume nursing responsibilities during the Spanish American War (1898), even though the Nurses' Associated Alumni had offered its services, demonstrated that nursing was considered to be more of a lady's avocation than a profession.[24]

A handful of pioneering women chose careers which required academic training. Women were prohibited from entering many professional schools by law. Some separate but probably unequal women's professional schools were founded. The Philadelphia Female Medical College, the first of its kind, was established in 1853. Enrollment of women in medical schools actually dropped from 1,280 at the beginning of the century to 992 in 1926.[25] Women were admitted to art academies, but until the 1870's their professional development was hindered by restrictions barring them from life classes.[26]

In the 1920's, although one-third of the Ph.D's earned in the U. S. were granted to women, they held only 4% of the professorships in the country, and most of these at women's colleges. Seventy-five percent of the women awarded Ph.D's betwen 1877 and 1924 remained unmarried.[27]

Some observers considered the lack of suitable employment for middle class women a serious problem. Charlotte Perkins Gilman envisioned in her popular book Woman and Economics (1898) a mother who was "economically free, a world-servant instead of a house-servant; a mother knowing the world and living in it."[28] To the "parents very much disconcerted and perplexed in regard to their daughters undertak(ing) work lying quite outside of traditional and family interest," Jane Addams explained in Democracy and Social Ethics (1907) that "she (their daughter) looks out into the world, longing that some demand be made upon her powers . . . What she needs is simple, health-giving activity, which, involving the use

of all her faculties, shall be a response to all the claims which she so keenly feels."[29]

With the outbreak of World War I, women began assuming new responsibilities, much as they had two generations previously during the Civil War. The National American Woman Suffrage Association assisted in mobilizing women to support the war effort. Women served their country by running bond drives and performing relief work. They knit clothing for soldiers and wore their skirts shorter to conserve fabric. "Farmerettes" worked the fields to replace farmers shipped overseas (Anonymous, Mrs. Robert Munroe Fergusson, Head of Women's Land Army, New Mexico, ca. 1918, #114). Women took positions, most notably in heavy industry, which previously had been closed to them[30] (Anonymous, Women's Activities in Arsenals, Etc., Acetylene Welding on Cylinder Water Jacket, 1918, #120). The federal government convinced women to help on the home front by issuing pamphlets, taking out ads in periodicals, and producing posters (Lib. of Congress posters) (Edward Penfield, Every Girl Pulling For Victory--Victory Girls--United War Work Campaign, ca. 1918, #66 and The Girl on the Land Serves the Nation's Need--Apply Y.W.C.A, ca. 1918, #67; Adolph Triedler, For Every Fighter a Woman Worker--Care for Her Through the Y.W.C.A., 1918, #87). Naturally, when peace was made and veterans were home-bound, women were expected to surrender their jobs to the men. Some of the women who were being laid off resisted. For many women, the loss of a war-time job was not so much a question of having to retreat to the hearth, but entailed instead going back to more menial, lower paying occupations.[31]

The post-World War I mood was unquestionably different from what had existed previously. Modern America was emerging. The established ways of life were eroding. The traditional tightly knit family was fraying; family memebers increasingly left home to go to work or school. They no longer looked to each other for food, shelter, clothing, education, medical care, or religious instruction, but turned instead to dispensers outside the home who themselves earned livings operating these services. It was a new idea that a price other than time and effort should be attached to the acquisition of life's necessities. The divorce rate rose sharply, and it was higher among industrial laborers and professionals than farmers.[32] The Chicago Vice Commission reported in 1911 that

> the whole tendency of modern life, which places a greater strain on the nervous system of both men and women of all classes than has ever been placed . . . in the history of the civilized world, cannot but help . . . develop considerable eroticism.[33]

The world outside the home was increasingly alluring to women. Once a center of vital activity, the home had metamorphosed into an environment not only lacking in opportunities for domestic industry, but at least during the day while husbands were away at work, also lacking in adult presence.

The Cassandras who prophesied a subversion of established ethics were not so far from the mark. The end of World War I was attended by a general relaxation of morals. Women enjoyed a social freedom unknown to them before. "Flappers" smoked, drank, and danced to jazz music in bobbed hair-dos and above-the-knee skirts. As the idea that women were physically frail was discarded, they began to play sports professionally. Some women like Amelia Earheart even excelled in the new sport of flying (Charles Sheldon, Aviatrix, ca. 1930, #75). With the change of mores, women also began to express themselves more freely in the arts. Innovations in the art of dance were especially noteworthy; major figures such as Isadora Duncan and Martha Graham founded new modes of movement (Barbara Morgan, Martha Graham--Letter to the World, 1944, #61). Since America was becoming a wealthier nation, it had more time and money to spend on leisure activities. Hence, the popular arts burgeoned. Dancers, singers, and actresses found work in the many new theatrical productions, and in the brand-new movie industry (Reginald Marsh, Gaiety Burlesque, 1930, #59; John Sloan, Miss Agna Enters in "Rendez-vous", 1926, #77; James Montgomery Flagg, Mr. Simpson Directs, ca. 1935, #22, etc.). Show business was by far the most lucrative field a woman could enter.

With the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, women finally earned the right to vote. The feminists were disillusioned to discover that women, rather than forming a political bloc capable of cleansing the country of male-created corruption, voted along party lines like their husbands. Even so, women proved

themselves to be neither sainted nor sinful, but simply responsible and reasonable citizens.

The easing of moral strictures did little to temper the rigid division of sex roles. The relationship between the sexes changed more in nuance than in substance. Women were still expected to care for the home while men earned a living outside of it.[34] The tone of the change is illustrated by the fact that many social critics felt that improving woman's lot was a simple matter of dignifying her housework. Proposals were made to remunerate housework--work without wages had ceased to be creditable--and to professionalize housework by introducing courses in homemaking to high school and college curricula --work not requiring scholastic preparation was fast losing prestige. In 1923, a faction of the American Collegiate Association formally denounced colleges for not adequately training women for their future roles of wife and mother.[35]

As the moral climate of the United States changed, so did its economic character. (It can be fairly argued that the economic transformations sired the change in moral temper). Technological improvements, higher standards of living, the greater complexity, speicalization, and bureaucraticization of society--what may be referred to _en bloc_ as the modernization of America--resulted in the creation of a multitude of new types of jobs. The service industries mushroomed. The number of workers engaged in actual production of goods dropped dramatically while those participating in management, communications, sales, promotion, and design and offering educational, religious, legal, financial, medical, and recreational services (_i. e._, white collar workers) swelled in rank. While in 1900 service jobs comprised about 30% of total employment, by 1950 they represented 50% of all positions held by workers.[36]

The growth of service industries meant that there were more respectable jobs available for women outside the home. Compared to the factory, the office environment was reasonably inoffensive. Office work required little physical exertion, and the hours were inclined to be shorter.

Many of the new jobs, such as telephone operator or typist, were a direct outgrowth of technological and commercial innovations. These jobs were novel and

therefore sex-neutral, having no traditional association with either sex. A large group of workers had to be found and placed rapidly in the many new positions created by the new telephone industry. As in the early days of the textile industry, employers found a surplus labor force in women, especially those of middle class origin. Telephone companies actively sought to recruit decent women from good homes. By 1926 there were 200,000 telephone operators in the country (Anonymous, Frame Switchboard Work at Emeryville, California, 1918, #103).[37]

Many women found jobs in the large department stores springing up across the country (The Byron Company, R. H. Macy's Department Store Food Counter, Herald Square, 1902, #16; Richard Decker, Department Store at Christmas, from The New Yorker, December, 1934, #19). The stores attracted men also, but the sexes were usually assigned different jobs. E. W. Bloomingdale stated in 1896 that men and women never held identical positions in his store.[38]

Secretarial work was the plum among the new jobs. Secretaries earned roughly twice as much as department store clerks.[39] Most office workers had American-born parents, while over half of the salesgirls were of immigrant parentage. By 1930 approximately 700,000 women worked as department store clerks, and about 2,000,000 women were employed as secretaries[40] (Peggy Bacon, Mrs. Hayworth, ca. 1935, #6; W. E. Hill, Pensive Secretary, ca. 1920, #31 and Executive Secretary, ca. 1920, #32).

Clerical workers and telephone operators could derive some pride from the fact that they often received some kind of formal training, either by attending vocational schools or participating in company-sponsored programs (Ralph Baron, Three Little Maids from School, from Puck Magazine, April 1917, #8). In contrast, factory women were left to their own devices to learn their jobs, either from helpful co-workers or by imitation.[41]

Initially, there were outcries against the movement of women from home to office. A 1900 issue of Ladies' Home Journal contained an article warning women that working in an office was a sure route to a nervous breakdown, but by 1916 the magazine had reversed its stance. In that year the Journal suggested that female secretaries added just the wholesome touch needed in the sanctuaries of male enterprise. They "radiated the office with sunshine and sympathetic interest."[42] By 1935 women typists

were such a fixture of the American business world that Fortune constructed an historical proof attesting that "woman's place was at the typewriter."[43]

A few remarkably enterprising women took advantage of the relative lack of competition and the new business techniques of marketing and mass advertising and erected empires. While big business was still a young concept, Lydia Pinkham made a fortune selling her patented medicine. In the 1920's Helena Rubinstein and Elizabeth Arden both formed successful cosmetic companies. It is noteworthy that these women lined their pockets by selling woman-oriented products.

While America was transforming itself into a prosperous, modern society, it became increasingly apparent that the abomidable conditions which had been existing for decades in industry, and which had almost come to be taken for granted, could no longer be tolerated. Early reformers, be they lady charity workers, government investigators, journalists, or labor organizers, were often frustrated by the worker's inability to perceive the injustices of his situation. Usually, the laborer had to work to survive, and what she earned was considerably more than what had been possible in Europe or rural America. Part of an 1895 investigation of working conditions in New York City factories and stores, the following exchange between a legislator and his witness demonstrates some of the difficulties encountered by reformers:

> Q: And there is not anything that you are not satisfied with? A: Certainly not, or I wouldn't have stayed there (in Simpson and Crawford's dry goods store) as long as I have if I was not perfectly satisfied.
>
> Q: How is it you have never received any increase in wages in all these years? A: I don't know, I never inquired . . . I know it is my own fault; I went in late; and I have not interested myself I suppose . . .[44]

The North Carolina Commissioner of Labor Statistics found a similar attitude among cotton mill operatives in his

1891 survey of working conditions. They fared better in the mills than they had on the impoverished farms from which most of them came.

Dorothy Richardson, an orphaned former school teacher who resorted to taking jobs in factories because she was lacking funds and unable to secure a genteel job, wrote an account of her experiences as a working girl in New York. She concluded her book by acknowledging that "there is nobody so little concerned about herself and her conditions as the working woman herself. Taking everything into consideration, and in spite of conditions which . . . seem irreconcilably harsh and bitter--in the face of all this, one must characterize the working woman as a content, if no happy woman."[45] Richardson could be appalled by the conditions because, unlike her co-workers, she had previously experienced a better life.

From the time of the first national unions (1860's) until the FDR administration (1930's), union leaders had trouble organizing women, partly because few of them expected to remain in the work force for long. An even larger obstacle was the unwillingness of the established unions to admit women. The male-dominated unions regarded female presence in the trades as a momentary deviation of the economy. Women were not only considered mentally incompetent; they also were not regarded as influential citizens because they could not vote. The Knights of Labor (founded in 1869) was the first major union to accept women. The Knights of Labor was eventually superseded by the American Federation of Labor. The AFL organized mostly skilled workers; the majority of women were unskilled. The National Woman's Trade Union League was established during the 1903 AFL convention. The NWTUL was distinguished by an unusual alliance of benevolent upper- and middle-class women and laborers. This cooperation of the classes aligned the causes of suffrage and unionization in a mutually beneficial arrangement. Helping to ensure the formation of a Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor was probably the NWTUL's greatest accomplishment.

A rash of garment workers' strikes between 1909 and 1913, coupled with the 1911 Triangel Shirt Waist fire brought national attention to the deplorable conditions of the sweatshop (The Byron Company, Headquarters of the Women's Trade Union League of New York During the Shirt Waist Strike, 1910, #14). Still, the AFL's official position, in a nutshell, was to "keep women out of the

trade, and if not, out of the union."[46] In 1920, only 7% of working women as opposed to 25% of the men were organized in unions.

The legal precedent for later labor reforms was protective legislation for women and children. The Supreme Court gave judicial sanction to the regulation of women's working hours in its 1908 Muller v. Oregon decision. Arguments for protective legislation cut two ways. Protective legislation helped to make working conditions more humane. However, some of its proponents hoped legislation would curb women's participation in the labor force. Supporters of protective legislation agreed that it was important to spare women excessive hardships in order to preserve them for their primary functions of wife and mother. Some feminists therefore felt that protective legislation served only to perpetuate stereotypes about women.

In the 1930's under the Roosevelt Administration, legislation was finally passed rectifying the horrors of sweat shop labor, and forbidding home work in most industries. Unemployment and disability compensation, and social security were introduced. The New Deal also lent cautious support to unions through the National Labor Relations Act.

The Depression years witnessed a backlash against women working. America was frightened by the fact that women had been entering the labor market at a faster rate than men during a time when jobs were becoming increasingly scarce (Isaac Soyer, Employment Agency, 1937, #82). Not only did people fear that women were snatching jobs from men; they also worried that women were lowering the market value of male labor. The primary target of hostility was the woman who, supported by her husband or father, worked only for "pin-money." State legislatures proposed bills to interdict the employment of women in private industry. Popular attitudes could not alter economic exigencies. The fact is that women joined the labor force between 1930 and 1940 with more alacrity than ever before.[47] Since the flow of women into the working world was inexorable, the battle was waged most vehemently against the working wife. In 1936 the Gallup poll found that 82% of the population felt that women with employed husbands should not work. George Gallup remarked that he had "discovered an issue on which voters are about as solidly united as on any subject imaginable--including sin and hayfever."[48]

Married women apparently preferred to remain at home (James Montgomery Flagg, Way Down East, 1939, #23). In 1940 6 out of 7 wives were full-time housewives.[49] During the same year, the percentage of women in the labor force (25) was close to what it had been in 1910 (21). World War II changed all that. The number of working women increased two-fold; women in unions quadrupled. Wages rose, and for the first time women were given access to the skilled, more lucrative industrial jobs[50] (Carl Rose, 1942, #73). Twenty-nine thousand women joined the Women's Land Army to serve as proxies for the farmers fighting overseas. Three-hundred thousand enlisted in the militia, although they received no instruction in the use of arms.

Paul McNutt, head of the War Manpower Commission, admitted that "getting women into industry is a tremendous sales proposition."[51] The WMC sponsored a massive media campaign to persuade women to work. Posters, billboards, radio spots, and movie-house newsreels all proclaimed that working was woman's patriotic duty. The government encouraged employment of women by offering tax breaks to industry. Special facilities, such as beauty salons, and services, such as night-time shopping, were created to accommodate women. Manufacturers employed blacks on a large scale for the first time. Also for the first time in the nation's history, more married than unmarried women, and more women over than under thirty-five were working.[52] Even the bastions of male professionalism opened their doors to female replacements. Women surrogated men in law firms, brokerage houses, and the press corps.

The old order had been upset by the War, and women had proven themselves able bread-winners. However, long-standing popular attitudes erode slowly. In the decade that followed, when women were not compelled by economic and political necessity to abandon traditional roles, fear for the survival of time-honored conventions proved mightier than the spirit of change. Not until the late 1960's and 1970's did women return to work in substantial numbers, in response to new economic and social imperatives.

Amy Minna Fine

FOOTNOTES

1. Gerda Lerner, The Woman in American History, 45.
2. Ibid., 36-37.
3. Robert W. Smuts, Women and Work in America, 139.
4. Gail Parker, The Oven Birds: American Women on Womanhood, 1820-1920, 184.
5. Ibid., 192.
6. Lerner, 59-60.
7. Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon, and Susan Reverby, America's Working Women: A Documentary History, 1600 to the Present, 233.
8. Lerner, 103.
9. Baxandall, et al., 73.
10. Lerner, 57.
11. Baxandall, 132.
12. Smuts, 18.
13. Ibid., 88.
14. William H. Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970, 56.
15. Smuts, 56-57.
16. Baxandall, et al., 93-96.
17. Ibid., 150.
18. Ibid., 53.

19. Smuts, 73.

20. Baxandall, *et. al.*, 101.

21. Smuts, 39.

22. *Ibid.*, 41-43.

23. Smuts, 19.

24. Smuts, 20.

25. Chafe, 90.

26. Elsa Honig Fine, *Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*, 95-96.

27. Chafe, 89-91, 100.

28. Lerner, 152.

29. Parker, 305, 310.

30. Chafe, 169.

31. Baxandall, *et al.*, 204.

32. *Ibid.*, 224.

33. Smuts, 132.

34. Chafe, 96.

35. *Ibid.*, 103.

36. Smut, 101-102.

37. Baxandall, *et al.*, 236.

38. Smuts, 22.

39. *Ibid.*, 90.

40. Chafe, 50.

41. Smuts, 82.

42. Baxandall, et al., 234.

43. Ibid., 234.

44. Smuts, 95.

45. Ibid., 98.

46. Baxandall, et al., 167.

47. Smuts, 145.

48. Chafe, 108.

49. Smut, 3.

50. Chafe, 135.

51. Ibid., 147.

52. Ibid., 148.

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Parker, Gail, The Oven Birds: American Women on Womanhood, 1820-1920, Garden City, New York, 1972.

Smuts, Robert W., Women and Work in America, New York, 1959.

CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

All measurements are in inches, height precedes width.

GEORGE W. ACKERMAN (n.d.)

1. Farm Woman Using a Small Modern Churn, 1935
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The National Archives
9 7/8 x 7 7/8

THOMAS ANSHUTZ (1851-1912)

2. Mother and Child, 1895
Oil on canvas
13 1/2 x 19 1/4
Collection of Dr. R. J. Saulnier

3. Woman Sewing, ca. 1900
Pastel on paper
12 x 16 1/4
Collection of the Rev. Beatrice Blair

PEGGY BACON b. 1895

4. Aunt Nellie's Speakeasy, ca. 1921
Crayon on paper
14 1/2 x 18 1/4
Courtesy Kraushaar Galleries

5. Help!, 1927
Drypoint
15 3/8 x 9 5/8
Whitney Museum of American Art

6. Mrs. Hayworth, ca. 1935
Crayon on paper
10 1/4 x 7 1/8
Courtesy Kraushaar Galleries

ERNEST HAMLIN BAKER b. 1899

7. For Every Fighter a Woman Worker--Back Our Second Line of Defense-United War Work Campaign, ca. 1918
Poster
41 3/8 x 28 7/8
Collection of The Library of Congress

RALPH BARON (n.d.)

8. Three Little Maids from School, from Puck Magazine, April 1917
Photographic reproduction from cartoon
5 x 7

E. J. BELLOCQ (1873-1949)

9. Untitled (Portrait of a Storyville Prostitute), ca. 1912
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, by Lee Friedlander
10 x 8
Courtesy Robert Freidus Gallery, N.Y.C.

LOUIS BOTSWICK (n.d.)

10. View of Row of Operators, 1927
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The National Archives
7 1/2 x 9 1/2

ARTHUR WILLIAM BROWN (1881-1966)

11. Artist and Model, 1915
Charcoal on board
12 x 12
Collection Society of Illustrators

WILLIAM HENRY BURR (1819-1908)

12. The Intelligence Office 1840
Photographic reproduction of the original work, courtesy of the N.Y. Historical Society
16 x 20

THE BYRON COMPANY

13. Ballet Rehearsal at the Metropolitan Opera House, 1900
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The Byron Collection, The Museum of The City of New York
7 7/16 x 9 3/8

14. Headquarters of the Women's Trade Union League of New York During the Shirt Waist Strike, 1910
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The Byron Collection, The Museum of The City of New York
7 9/16 x 9 7/16
Collection of the Education Department, Whitney Museum of American Art

15. Mrs. Robinson's Beauty Parlor for Negroes, ca. 1919
Photograph, modern print from original negative, The Byron Collection, The Museum of the City of New York
7 1/2 x 9 1/2
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

16. R.H. Macy's Department Store Food Counter, Herald Square, 1902
Photograph, modern print from the orignal negative, The Byron Collection, The Museum of the City of New York
7 3/8 x 9 3/8

HOWARD CHANDLER CHRISTY (1873-1942)

17. Angel of Mercy, 1922
Ink wash
34 x 37
Collection of William H. Barrett

18. O.T. DAVIS (n.d.)
Scene at San Lou's Vall(e)y Cattle Ranch, 1884
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Library State Historical Society of Colorado
7 1/8 x 9 1/2
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

RICHARD DECKER b. 1907
19. Department Store at Christmas, from The New Yorker, December, 1934
Watercolor and tempera on board
10.13 x 14.8
Collection The Museum of the City of New York

MABEL DWIGHT (1876-1955)
20. Life Class, 1931
Lithograph
13 7/16 x 18 1/16
Whitney Museum of American Art, Purchase

THOMAS (COWPERTHWAITE) EAKINS (1844-1916)
21. Illustration for "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," Scribner's Monthly, June, 1879
Ink with wash and chinese white on paper
16 x 22
Collection The Brooklyn Museum

JAMES MONTGOMERY FLAGG (1877-1960)
22. Mr. Simpson Directs ca. 1935
Ink wash on board
21 x 28 1/2
Collection of Society of Illustrators

23. Way Down East, 1939
Oil on canvas
26 1/2 x 26 1/2
Collection New Britain Museum of American Art

H.C. FOSTER (n.d.)
24. Miss Major Pauline Cushman, The Famous Union Scout and Spy of the U.S. Secret Service, Army of the Cumberland, Mom's Army, South Carolina, ca. 1862
Carte-de-visite
3 3/16 x 1 15/16
Collection of Sam Wagstaff

ALINE FRUHAUF (1907-1978)
25. Lucile Blanch, 1937
Watercolor on paper
7 1/2 x 5 3/4
Courtesy Graham Gallery

26. Valentina, 1939
Watercolor on paper
13 1/4 x 10
Courtesy Graham Gallery

WILLIAM GLACKENS (1870-1938)
27. Untitled, (n.d.)
Charcoal on paper
13 x 20
Collection Society of Illustrators

28. Hammerstein's Roof Garden, ca. 1901
Oil on canvas
30 x 25
Whitney Museum of American Art, Purchase

HAVENS (n.d.)
(Successor to Wilson and Havens, Savannah, Georgia)
29. Plowing Rice, ca. 1872
Stereogram
3 x 6
Collection of Sam Wagstaff

W.E. HILL (1886-1962)
30. The Interview -- Sob Sister, 1927
Charcoal pencil on paper
9 x 12 3/8
Courtesy Walt Reed, Illustration House

31. Pensive Secretary, ca. 1920
Charcoal and chinese white on board
13 1/4 x 5 3/4
Courtesy Walt Reed, Illustration House

32. Executive Secretary, ca. 1920
Charcoal on illustration board
14 x 5 1/2
Courtesy Walt Reed, Illustration House

LEWIS W. HINE (1874-1940)
33. Doubling in Textile Mill, West Boylston, Massachusetts, 1937
Photograph
6 5/8 x 4 5/8
Private Collection

34. Girls in Packing Room, S.W. Brown Manufacturing Company, Evansville, Indiana, 1908
Photograph
4 5/8 x 6 5/8
Private Collection

35. Hartford Connecticut Newsgirls 1909
Photograph
4 5/8 x 6 5/8
Collection of Sam Wagstaff

36. Operator in the Act of Starting a Barbour-Colman Automatic Warper Machine, Manchester, New Hampshire, 1937
Photograph
4 5/8 x 6 5/8
Private Collection

37. Spinning Glass Wool, Millville, New Jersey, 1937
Photograph
4 5/8 x 6 5/8
Private Collection

38. Spooler Replacing Empty Bobbin with a Full One, Millville, New Jersey, 1937
Photograph
4 5/8 x 6 5/8
Private Collection

39. Three Toppers Topping Bars for 51 Gauge Machine (machine used to make stockings), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1937
Photograph
4 5/8 x 6 5/8
Private Collection

40. Turret Head Operator, Hamilton Watch Company, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1937
Photograph
4 5/8 x 6 5/8
Private Collection

41. Two Girls Stamping Glass Jars in the Art Room, Millville, New Jersey, 1937
Photograph
6 5/8 x 4 5/8
Private Collection

42. A Wash and Tie Girl Tying Stoppers to Bottles, T.C. Wheaton Company, Millville, New Jersey, 1937
Photograph
4 5/8 x 6 5/8
Private Collection

43. Untitled (Cafeteria Waitress), 1916
Photograph
4 7/8 x 6 13/16
Collection of Sam Wagstaff

WINSLOW HOMER (1836-1910)

44. The Noon Recess from Harper's Weekly, June 28, 1873
Wood engraving on paper
9 x 13 3/4
Courtesy Kennedy Galleries

45. New England Factory Life, "Bell-Time" from Harper's Weekly, July 25, 1868
Wood engraving on paper
9 3/8 x 13 3/4
Courtesy Kennedy Galleries

46. Fresh Eggs, 1874
Watercolor on paper
9 1/4 x 7 1/2
Whitney Museum of American Art,
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur G. Altschul

47. Shepherdess, 1870
Pencil and chinese white on paper
7 1/2 x 13 5/8
Whitney Museum of American Art,
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Isidore M. Cohen

FRANCES BENJAMIN JOHNSTON (1864-1952)

48. Dress Making Class, Tuskegee Institute, 1902
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Library of Congress
7 1/16 x 9 1/2
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

49. Infirmary, Carlisle Indian School, 1900
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Library of Congress
6 15/16 x 9 3/16
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

50. Outdoor Class in Laundering at Mount Meigs Institute, Alabama, ca. 1902
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Library of Congress
7 13/16 x 9 11/16

51. Preparation After the Slaughtering of Hogs, 1899
Photograph, modern print form the original negative, Library of Congress
6 15/16 x 9 3/16

52. A Tintype Booth at a Virginia County Fair, 1903
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Library of Congress
7 13/16 x 9 11/16

53. A Woman in a Shoe Factory, Lynn Massachusetts, ca. 1895
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Library of Congress
9 1/2 x 7 9/16

54. Writing Class, Tuskegee Institute, 1902
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Library of Congress
7 11/16 x 9 1/2
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

BENJAMIN KILBURN (n.d.) and
EDWARD KILBURN (?-1904)
(KILBURN BROTHERS)

55. No. 417, County Post Office, ca. 1867
Stereogram
3 x 6
Collection of Sam Wagstaff

ELLSWORTH L. KOLB (n.d.) and
EMERY C. KOLB (n.d.)
(KOLB BROTHERS)

56. Untitled (Indian Woman Grinding Corn), ca. 1910
Colotype
10 5/16 x 13 7/8
Collection of Sam Wagstaff

RUSSELL LEE b. 1903

57. Sideshow at the Circus, Klamath Falls, Oregon, 1942
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The Farm Security Administration (F.S.A.) Collection, Library of Congress
7 3/16 x 7 5/8
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

REGINALD MARSH (1898-1954)

58. Gaiety Burlesque, 1930
Etching
13 7/16 x 11 7/8
Whitney Museum of American Art

59. Ten Cents a Dance, 1933
Tempera on canvas
36 x 48
Whitney Museum of American Art

JAMES MORAN (?) (n.d.)

60. No. 12, Woman Washing Clothes, Oil Creek, Pennsylvania, ca. 1864
Stereogram
3 x 6
Collection of Sam Wagstaff

BARBARA MORGAN b. 1900

61. Martha Graham -- Letter to the World, 1944
Photograph
15 1/4 x 19 1/2
Collection of the artist

62. Pregnant, 1940
Photograph
13 1/4 x 10 1/2
Collection of the artist

WALLACE MORGAN (1873-1948)

63. Women's Sewing Group, ca. 1910
Brush and ink on paper
16 3/4 x 9 5/8
Courtesy Walt Reed, Illustration House

THOMAS NAST (1840-1902)

64. U.S. Women's Sanitary Commission, ca. 1861
Etching, photographic reproduction provided by Chicago Historical Picture Service
6 3/16 x 9 3/16

TIMOTHY H. O'SULLIVAN (ca. 1840-1882)

65. Navaho Group, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, 1873
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The National Archives
9 1/2 x 7 1/2

EDWARD PENFIELD (1866-1925)

66. Every Girl Pulling For Victory -- Victory Girls -- United War Work Campaign, ca. 1918
Poster
27 3/4 x 22
Collection Library of Congress

67. The Girl on the Land Serves the Nation's Need-- Apply Y.W.C.A., ca. 1918
Poster
25 x 29 3/4
Collection Library of Congress

C. COLES PHILLIPS (1880-1927)

68. In a Position to Know, Life, April 7, 1921
Watercolor on illustration board
19 x 17
Collection of J.B. Rund

KAY BELL REYNAL (1905-1977)

69. East River Drive With Ramp, New York, 1943, Vogue, 1943
Photograph
14 x 11
Courtesy The Witkin Gallery, Inc.

JACOB A. RIIS (1849-1914)

70. Finishing Pants, ca. 1890
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The Jacob A. Riis Collection, The Museum of the City of New York
7 1/2 x 9 3/8

71. Old Mrs. Benoir, an Indian Woman in her Hudson Street Attic, ca. 1890
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The Jacob A. Riis Collection, The Museum of the City of New York
7 1/2 x 9 3/8

CAROLINE SPEARE ROHLAND b. 1885

72. Cotton Pickers, 1939
Pastel on paper
24 x 18 1/2
Whitney Museum of American Art, Purchase

CARL ROSE (n.d.)

73. Untitled, from Collier's Magazine, 1942
Photographic reproduction of cartoon
5 x 7

ARTHUR ROTHSTEIN b. 1915

74. Wheel of Fortune, Las Vegas, Nevada, 1940
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The Farm Security Administration (F.S.A.) Collection, Library of Congress
7 1/4 x 9 3/8
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

CHARLES SHELDON (1884-1961)

75. Aviatrix, ca. 1930
Pencil on paper
16 x 13
Courtesy Walt Reed, Illustration House

EVERETT SHINN (1876-1953)

76. Revue, 1908
Oil on canvas
45.7 x 61
Whitney Museum of American Art

JOHN SLOAN (1871-1951)

77. Miss Agna Enters in "Rendez-vous," 1926
Etching
3 3/4 x 2 3/8
Courtesy Kraushaar Galleries

78. Black Pot, 1937
Etching
6 x 4
Courtesy Kraushaar Galleries

79. Rag Pickers, 1913
Etching
2 3/4 x 3 3/4
Courtesy Kraushaar Galleries

80. Winnowing Wheat, 1937
Etching
6 x 4
Courtesy Kraushaar Galleries

81. Woman with Etching Tray, 1912
Etching
3 3/4 x 2 3/4
Courtesy Kraushaar Galleries

ISAAC SOYER b. 1907

82. Employment Agency, 1937
Oil on canvas
34 1/4 x 45
Whitney Museum of American Art, Purchase

83. Girl Embroidering, 1929
Oil on canvas
25 1/2 x 21 1/4
Whitney Museum of American Art

RAPHAEL SOYER b. 1899

84. Office Girls, 1936
Oil on canvas
66 x 61
Whitney Museum of American Art, Purchase

LILLY MARTIN SPENCER (1822-1902)

85. Kiss Me and You'll Kiss the 'Lasses, 1856
Oil on canvas
30 1/8 x 25 1/8
Courtesy The Brooklyn Museum

ALBERT STERNER (1863-1948)

86. Untitled, Jugend Magazine cover, ca.1905
Colored crayon on paper
16 x 12
Courtesy Graham Gallery

ADOLPH TRIEDLER b. 1889

87. For Every Fighter a Woman Worker -- Care for Her Through the Y.W.C.A., 1918
Poster
41 1/4 x 29 3/4
Collection Library of Congress

DORIS ULMANN (1884-1934)

88. Untitled (Black Woman Peeling Potatoes), ca. 1930
Platinum print
7 3/4 x 6
Courtesy The Witkin Gallery, Inc.

89. Untitled (Old Lady Working at Spinning Wheel), ca. 1925
Platinum print
8 x 6
Courtesy The Witkin Gallery, Inc.

CLARENCE F. UNDERWOOD (1871-1929)

90. Back Our Girls Over There, 1918
Poster
27 3/4 x 21 1/4
Collection Library of Congress

JAMES VAN DER ZEE b. 1886

91. Garvey Women Brigade, 1924
Photograph
4 3/4 x 6 3/4
Collection of the artist

92. Good Shepherd, 1933
Photograph
9 1/2 x 7 1/2
Collection of the artist

93. Hazel Scott, ca. 1938
Photograph
7 5/16 x 5 1/2
Collection of the artist

94. Secretary, 1929
Photograph
9 1/2 x 7 5/8
Collection of the artist

GRANT WOOD (1892-1942)

95. Dinner for Threshers 1933
Pencil and gouache on paper
17 3/4 x 26 3/4
Whitney Museum of American Art, Purchase

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
96. Alice Wade, Wt. 550 lbs., Age 18 yrs. old, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
3 1/4 x 5 1/2
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
97. Baby Incubator on the Pike -- Nurses Feeding Babies, World's Fair, 1904
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Missouri Historical Society
7 1/4 x 9
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
98. Bathing Girl's Fashion Show, The San Diego Club, 1930
Copyprint photograph from the original negative, Historical Collection, Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego, California
7 1/4 x 9 7/16

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
99. Colored Women Open a Club for their Men in the Service, Newark, New Jersey, ca. 1918
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The National Archives
7 1/2 x 9 1/2
Collection Judith Mara Gutman

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
100. Creole Palace, San Diego, California, ca. 1928
Copyprint photograph from the original negative, Historical Collection, Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego, California
7 9/16 x 9 7/16
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
101. Darkies with Brooms of Bambusa on Latimer's Place, Belton, South Carolina, 1899
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The National Archives
7 7/8 x 9 7/8

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
102. A Few of the Many W.A.A.F. Trades, Flying Magazine, 1943
Copyprint photograph from the original magazine leaf, The Picture Collection, The New York Public Library
8 5/16 x 7 1/2

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
103. Frame Switchboard Work at Emeryville, California, 1918
Copyprint photograph from the original negative, Western Electric
9 1/2 x 7 5/8
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
104. (H)ome Made Butter, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
5 1/2 x 3 1/4
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
105. I'd Like to "Pinch" Somebody, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
5 1/2 x 3 1/4
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
106. Julia Clark, Student Flyer in Wright Pusher, North Island, San Diego, 1911
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Historical Collection, Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego, California
6 x 8
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
107. Maid with Small Children, Washington, D.C., ca. 1910
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The National Archives
7 1/2 x 9 1/2

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
108. Marine Corps PX Station, ca. 1940
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, Historical Collection, Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego, California
7 9/16 x 9 1/2
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
109. Mary Edwards, Mil(l)iner, Cheyenne Wells, Colorado, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
3 1/4 x 5 1/2
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
110. Mary Edwards Walker, M.D., Union Army Doctor During the Civil War, Authorized by Congress to Wear Trousers, ca. 1864
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The Chicago Historical Picture Service
9 1/4 x 6 7/8

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
111. Milk Delivery Woman, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
3 1/4 x 5 1/2
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
112. Mlle. Clifford-Champion Sword Swallower of the World, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
5 1/2 x 3 1/4
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
113. Mrs. Musante, Peanuts, Fruit and Candy, Amherst, Massachusetts, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
3 1/4 x 5 1/2
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
114. Mrs. Robert Munroe Fergusson, Head of Women's Land Army, New Mexico, ca. 1918
Copyprint photograph, from the original negative, Collections in the Museum of New Mexico
4 x 6 5/8
Collection of Judith Mara Gutman

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
115. Next !, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
5 1/2 x 3 1/4
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
116. Shaker Woman Making Chair, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
5 1/2 x 3 1/4
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
117. Sorting Cranberries, Cape Cod, Massachusetts, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
3 1/4 x 5 1/2
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
118. U.S. Navy Woman, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
5 1/2 x 3 1/4
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
119. Woman Ironing, ca. 1903-1915
Postcard
5 1/2 x 3 1/4
Courtesy The Gotham Book Mart Collection

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
120. Women's Activities in Arsenals, Etc. Acetylene Welding on Cylinder Water Jacket, 1918
Photograph, modern print from the original negative, The National Archives
9 7/8 x 7 1/2

ARTIST UNKNOWN
121. A Sure Cure, Harper's Bazaar, November, 1874
Photographic reproduction of a cartoon
5 x 7

ARTIST UNKNOWN
122. The Yankee Pedlar, ca. 1840
Oil on canvas
24 x 31
Courtesy IBM Corporation, Armonk, New York

ARTIST UNKNOWN
123. Untitled, Life, July, 1920
Photographic reproduction of a cartoon
5 x 7